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they otherwise use for the Krîkatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krîkatí.[99] Literally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as ąwjwa. Fróes Abreu spells it "Awá," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

Historical Survey of the Several Timbira Tribes

1. The Timbira of Araparytíua

The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim," to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.[100] But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.[101] But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna municipio. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.[102] Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatiua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

[99] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.
[100] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 25.
[101] Itinerario, 113, 114.
[102] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 11.

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among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[b] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krĩkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[c]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krĩkatí*

Krĩkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[d] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krĩkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krĩkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mãkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pụ'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pụkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krĩkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[b] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[c] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[d] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

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6. The Pukóbye

The Pukóbye (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krîkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from puków or pokóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krîkatí, Kre'pu'mkateye, and occasionally the Ramkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krîkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.[a]

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account[b] this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pukóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pukóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),[c] but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.[d]

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krîkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pukóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

[a] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.
[b] Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.
[c] J. F. Coelho, 76. [d] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

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constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Fritz's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Woraru.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões or Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[b] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[b] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

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After Magalhães' death the Krahõ′ constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[28] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50′, and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahõ′, attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahõ′ sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahõ′ on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[29] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahõ′ had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[30] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahõ′ territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40′. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahõ′ settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahõ′ farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[31] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Šavánte-Šerénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahõ′ permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[32] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[33] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahõ′ owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahõ′ chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tę′m). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahõ′ village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[28] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[29] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[30] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.
[31] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.
[32] Tuggia, 122.
[33] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

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II. ECOLOGY

Settlements and Houses

361 182 *Settlements.*—One of the most characteristic features of Timbira culture—in the natives' own opinion—is the circular village plan. So long as their aboriginal life retains a spark of vitality they cling to this mode of settlement, which is most intimately bound up with their socioceremonial organization. Notwithstanding their ignorance of Indian usage, the Baptist missionaries in Brazil correctly recognized the social significance of this feature and did their utmost to effect its abandonment; for as long as it survives the ancient social order, too, lives on, and within that there is no place for missionaries. When the Canella transplanted their village to the site of Ponto in 1924, the Indian agent in Barra do Corda likewise tried to convince them that straight streets were far more beautiful, but he had the good sense to desist when the Indians vigorously spurned the proposal.

361 171 114 Snethlage has it that Pereira do Lago ascribes circular villages to the Gamella of Vianna, and Ferreira Gomes to the Krahô', while Ribeiro is supposed to credit a semilunar form to the Timbira of Goyaz.[116] Actually Pereira merely reports round Gamella *huts*, without saying a word about their arrangement. Ribeiro, on the other hand, after stating that the Timbira encampments and settlements were invariably circular, goes on to say: "Alguns Indios de Goyaz edificam em meias lua." This doubtless refers to the horseshoe shape of Šavánte-Šerénte villages. Finally, Ferreira Gomes, though mentioning circular settlements for the Krẽyé (then still near Imperatriz), never got to see any Krahô', as he explicitly states: "... tres aldeas de indigenos mansos os quaes não foram vistos por mim .... estes indigenas são de duas nações, caraúa e chavantes."[117]

361 183 The village (krí) site must fulfill the following conditions:

1. It must be level. Since level ground of adequate extent is hardly to be found on the slope in the direction of the watercourses, the villages are all situated on the level of the steppe, usually at the end of a spur projecting into the angle between two converging streams.

2. The ground should be neither rocky nor sandy, but represent an outcrop of hard clay, for on sand or rubble barefoot folk cannot dance in comfort, especially if they indulge with Timbira perseverance.

3. The site must not be too far from the water supply, though a difference of a kilometer does not matter.

4. There must be an adequate *gallería* forest near by to provide clearings for a number of years. When the annual tree-felling has deforested the land to the distance of, say, twelve kilometers from the village, the settlement is transferred to a new site that has a sufficiency of timber in the vicinity.

5. Finally, attention is paid to freedom from fever, in which respect the Timbira steppes are, as a rule, favorably situated.

361 363 621 Ponto may serve as a typical steppe Timbira settlement. To be sure, its form lacks the geometrical perfection credited to it in Fróes Abreu's plan, and this author likewise fails to indicate that the village is elevated above the plain.[118] In 1930 it comprised thirty-one houses (ikré), all of whose broad sides faced the plaza. The diameter of the circle was 300 m. Along the front façade of the houses there extends all around the plaza a street (krĩkapẽ') of irregular width; it shall henceforth be designated as the "boulevard" (fig. 1). Its minimum width may be set at about 7 m. In front of the houses of the two vų'tẹ' girls (see p. 92), which always lie opposite each other, the boulevard expands into a small dance ground. Because of

[116] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 152.
[117] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490, 495.
[118] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 99, 168.

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the incessant dancing and running on this street, not a blade of grass can thrive there; furthermore it is specially cleared for festive occasions.

The central plaza (kę), some 50 m. in diameter, is also kept free of any growth of grass. It is not a perfect circle either. A radial path (vįrį prį kąra), from 3 to 5 m. in width, which is likewise kept free of grass, at least during the ceremonial season, connects each dwelling with the plaza. On the triangular patches between the radial paths the steppe grass grows unhindered, but no shrubs are tolerated there; and of the timber that once grew on the steppe here a single large tree, a sucupira, was allowed to stand at the margin of the plaza (see p. 1).

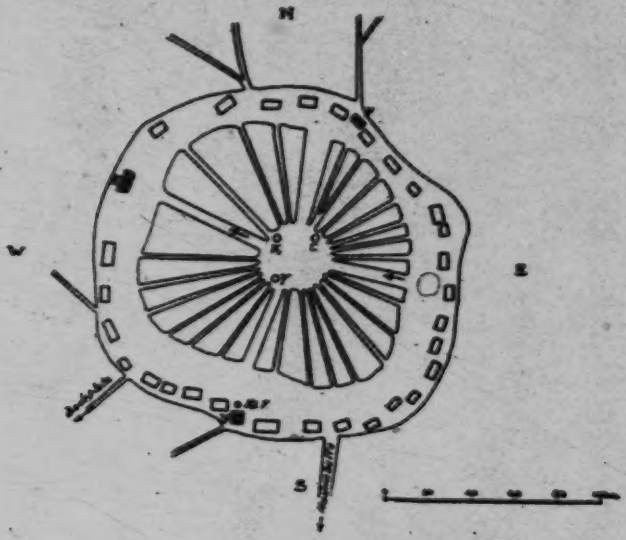

Fig. 1. Plan of Canella village.

More particularly during the ceremonial period, when all the paths and plazas are clean, the village makes a very neat impression. Coming from Barra do Corda, a traveler who had reached the last eminence to the north would see before him a gigantic wheel, as it were, with the Serra do Alpercatas looming picturesquely in the background.

Almost perfectly straight roads (pa'krẽ) lead out into the steppes in the four cardinal directions, the northern and the eastern ones being the best and the longest. The former is seventeen kilometers in length, not twenty-five to thirty kilometers, as Snethlage reports. These roads, essentially designed as log-race tracks (pl. 1, *c*) are stripped of trees and bushes only on certain occasions—about once every five years; then a space of at least seven meters is cleared. Under ordinary circumstances they serve as highways for Indians and Neobrazilians alike. I have seen such roads also among the Krĩkatí, Pųkôbye, and Apą'nyekra; and they are reported for the Western Gaviões territory (p. 21).

Numerous narrow trails traverse the steppe and the *gallería* forest in all directions, leading to plantations and camp sites frequented on hunting or fishing trips. The paths to the cultivated plots are everywhere comparatively wide and kept

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tidy so as to offer no obstacle to the women burdened with their crammed carrying baskets (pl. 5, *b*). Swamps are crossed on extended tree trunks, along which poles are sometimes planted to afford a grip. Brooks are spanned by foot bridges, that is, by thick logs which rest on props driven into the water. These supports are of scissors shape and occasionally have horizontal poles tied to them above for a railing. The logs are sometimes hewn flat on the upper surface so as to prevent the feet from slipping off. If a very thick tree trunk topples across a trail, the Indians will sometimes lay a number of poles close together on both sides, thus making an inclined plane for comfortably ascending and descending.

At a distance of seven hundred meters from the circle of houses, where the eastern race track crosses the Ribeirão Santo Estevão, the villagers have their main water supply; there throughout the day one meets Indians of any age and either sex, bathing or fetching water (pl. 2, *b*). Another source, only occasionally utilized by the inmates of two or three houses, was situated two hundred meters farther downstream, in the shade of a picturesque old tree. The Santo Estevão, which even in the dry season may attain a width of 15 m. and a depth of 1.70 m., furnishes very fine, limpid water.

Five hundred meters north of the village there is a slope draining toward the Santo Estevão, though a little brook formed at the bottom only during the rainy season (pl. 2, *a*). As soon as the Canella had settled, they planted numerous burity palms to the distance of half a kilometer on the floor of the valley, so that today water is to be found there even in the driest of dry seasons. The Indians further stocked the watercourse created by them with little fish and a young crocodile they had caught—in the hope that these water animals would do their bit to form a true stream of the steppe. No one fell foul of this artificially established burity stand. I have rarely seen chief Kukrãčą′ so indignant as when he saw in his niece's hand a young burity leaf she had brought back from her water-carrying trip; he came near dealing her a blow.

The Krĩkatí of Canto da Aldea, at the farthest source of the Rio Pindaré, lacked running water, relying on sundry water holes dug at the bottom of the dried-up bed of the creek.

. *Houses.*—All the Timbira have settlements nowadays, with houses designed for several years' tenancy; and there they dwell in full numbers, especially during the ceremonial season, from May until August. The form of the houses varies in the several tribes, and to some extent even within a single village, but it invariably bears a strong resemblance to the type in vogue among the poorer Neobrazilians. Since this extends far beyond the Timbira zone among Neobrazilians, occurring likewise among the unrelated Guajajára, we may assume that the Indians have adopted it from their civilized neighbors. The question remains under what influences it developed among the Neobrazilians.

Of the Timbira, the Rąmkõ′kamekra undoubtedly have the best houses. Two parallel rows of forked posts (ikréyõčwáhi) support two horizontal beams (pîteka′pa), which are connected by two other beams laid across their ends at right angles. In the central line of the interior space there are two or three taller posts (ikréyemáganopî) which bear the ridgepole; this is at each side somewhat shorter than the framework. From each end of the ridgepole two girders descend (ikreyõ) over the four corners of the frame. The intervening spaces are filled with a sufficient number of rafters for the attachment of the thatch. Thus the house has a top composed of four planes, the hip-roof type by itself establishing its nonaboriginal character.

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342 824 The fronds of the babassu or of the anajá palm furnish thatch for the roofs; such walls as there are are of the same material, which is tied to the posts and, if need be, to supplementary intermediate poles. The parts of the structure are tied together with vines. All the palm thatch is used with the rib of the leaf in horizontal position and with unilaterally dependent leaflets. The ridge is covered with longitudinally laid palm fronds held down by a number of angle-shaped pieces of wood hooked together in pairs.

342 A complete house is walled on all four sides, but sometimes the front wall is partly or wholly missing; or only one half of the house forms a sort of closed room. But the door always faces the long side turned toward the plaza. This front door usually has for a counterpart an entrance in the rear wall. The houses of Ponto, without an exception, conform to this type (pl. 1, *b*); not a single one has the door in the gable wall, as has been alleged.[137] This form does occur fairly often, however, among the Krahõ'.

None of the Canella houses has windows, but these are also lacking in many Neobrazilian homes. The entrance is generally barred by a transversely set old racing log which must be cleared, its purpose being to exclude the freely roaming domestic pigs. At night and when all inmates are away the door is closed, meagerly enough, with a mat of palm thatch placed or hung in front of it. The men erect the houses in which they live, but the women own them.

345 561 The dwellings of the families of the vụ'tẹ' girls, where the age classes assemble and are entertained during the ceremonial period of the year, are put up by the two youngest age classes. The class localized on the west side of the plaza erects the home of the vụ'tẹ' associated with the east, and vice versa.

342 561 464 The youngest age classes also put up a house for the wife of a Canella who has journeyed to the capital in the tribal interest. Anyone desiring the aid of these age classes applies to the councilors, who then transmit the request to the commandants of the classes (p. 93). These units receive no compensation beyond their meals; they always turn up accompanied by their female age-mates, who dance with them and help prepare the food. In one case I saw both matrilineal and patrilineal relatives work at the construction of a house for the woman owning it. In other instances only the residents took part in the building.

351 245 Immediately beside or behind the house, more rarely in front, there are usually several urucú bushes; sometimes one may also see there a pepper shrub, a mango, lemon, or orange tree, the last three of these representing additions from the Neobrazilians.

251 349 A feature comparatively common among the Krahõ', but rare among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, is a scaffold of poles close beside or behind the house. On this stage, always too high to be reached by dogs and pigs, all sorts of objects can be dried in the sun, notably manioc paste, but also gourd vessels, arrow cane, meat, and the like.

511 361 342 [484] The settlements of the other Eastern Timbira present a far less cleanly and orderly appearance. The two Kenpókateye-Krahõ' villages—Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada—do not even remotely approach Ponto in this respect. Their huts are smaller, less carefully built, and for the most part lack hip roofs. The Apą'nyekra aldea, Porquinhos, shows marked deterioration with its twelve small and mostly tumbledown huts. Brush covers the plaza, where a small, poor rancho serves as an hostelry for Neobrazilian travelers, an institution I have never seen among other Timbira groups; and the roads are overgrown with weeds. The settle-

[137] Sampaio and Magalhães Corrêa, Nota sobre habitat rudimentar, Est. II.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

ments of the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye were of the same order; of these, Canto da Aldea had eight huts, São Felix thirteen, and Recurso eleven. These dwellings were either quite open or had a single wall in the rear, whose palm leaves were attached in vertical position, with the points downward. This mode of attachment is characteristic of the aboriginal Eastern Timbira, the method now customary among the Rąmkõ'kamekra (p. 40), having been adopted from the Neobrazilians according to the Indians' own statements. The smallest and poorest huts I have seen are those in Recurso.

The Kre'pụ'mkateye settlement of Gamelleira do Rumo is situated in the woods, on the steep left bank, 50 m. in height, of the Rio Grajahú. It comprises eight rather small huts, most of them having walls of clay-daubed latticework; they surround an approximately round plaza of barely 50 m. in diameter.

Sleeping and sitting accommodations.—The principal article of furniture is the platform bed (pą'ra), a grid of closely laid burity leaf stalks resting on four forked posts with two crossbeams. Its ordinary elevation above the floor is about 50 cm., the length from 170 to 200 cm., and the width varies according to the number of occupants—from half a meter for a single person to 3 m. for a sizable family. If the house has a closed space, the beds—one for each individual family—are always indoors. A young girl generally constructs her platform bed below the roof at a height of 2 m., and surrounds it with a partition of mats; for a ladder she uses a notched log or simply a pole tied in slanting position. The boys and young men as a rule sleep in the plaza outdoors, but several of them may sleep on a platform bed indoors. This is, however, merely a makeshift in case of rain.

A larger or smaller number of mats lie on the bed, which when properly made has a bottom layer of one or two mats of babassu or anajá grass (kupíp) to level the unevenness of the surface, with mats of burity bast (ka'tų') above. The former are long, but relatively narrow and always in a two-step twilling technique; the latter of any desired width (up to 120 cm.), but at most 1 m. in length, to which must be added a 30 to 40 cm. fringe. Some of the Indians make burity mats de luxe by plaiting into the fabric ornamental horizontal or vertical stripes or squares and painting them with yellow dots, strokes, and zigzags, the pigment being derived from the root of the urucú shrub. The burity mats do service as a covering, but the feet remain bare, being always kept warm at night by a fire maintained at the foot of the bed.

However, the mat-covered platform beds also serve as benches and tables; indeed, a large part of domestic life is spent on them. Many take their meals there, some permit pet dogs to find a resting place on the bed. In consequence the mats are usually greasy and brownish-red from urucú and dirt. When they have turned filthy, they are washed in a stream with the leaves of a shrub that yield a soaplike lather. On the other hand, the anajá and babassu grass mats, which can be quickly manufactured, are never washed, but simply superseded by new ones.

On fine nights many families are accustomed to sleep for several hours on mats on the ground directly in front of their houses. After sunset the people like to sit on mats outdoors and thus simply remain lying there, falling asleep, even without a fire, until the chill of the morning drives them inside.

Indoors the Canella mostly seat themselves on the bed or, if it should be present, on a hammock. However, there are also, though rather rarely, curved little stools (mekričą) from the spathe of the anajá (avarprẽp), especially among the Krĩkatí and Pụkópye. Outdoors one likes to seat oneself on mats, women also using for this purpose fire fans (pl. 12, *a*); and in the woods a bunch of leaves is torn off and

Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ' had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apą'nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.[28] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ'kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų'tę' institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[28] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

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monials had formerly been held outdoors or in specially erected structures, the usage would have survived in at least the majority of the cases. On the other hand, the localization of the ceremonies in definite houses of the village circumference indicates that they have taken place there since ancient times. However, it is impossible to determine at present what form these houses originally had. Nowadays the Indians assert that they always had the same shape as today, which is certainly contrary to fact.

Besides the rectangular gable-roofed and the beehive types, the Eastern Timbira employ a number of simpler types of shelter. There are oblique wind screens of palm fronds set against a pole placed horizontally in the branches of two neighboring trees or resting on forked posts. Instead the leaves may be set into the ground in a semicircle, yielding a semiconical wind screen, such as Snethlage observed and as I have several times seen as the first shelter on a house site within a newly laid out village. Rectangular frames resting horizontally at a man's height on forked posts and covered with a few transverse poles and fronds are seen only at festivals on the open steppe; they share the name of the windscreen, ikrépo. Neobrazilians, too, always put them up beside their houses during a celebration. They are sunshades which afford no protection from rain.

Single travelers obliged to spend the night outdoors or surprised by a storm en route cover the top of a bush with branches and palm fronds for a shelter. Or they fasten together the fronds of two appropriately distant paty palm shrubs without cutting them off and thus form a sort of sentry box. During prolonged ceremonies in the plaza the spectators often make mats into sunshades by leaning them against any prop planted into the ground, such as a bow or sword club, or against their own backs.

Finally, at the east end of the Serra do Noquem, eighteen kilometers south of the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca, I saw a cave which these Indians occasionally used as a shelter and there were fireplaces at the entrance.

Dress and Adornment

Formerly both sexes in all Timbira groups were completely unclothed. For the most part the men still go naked. In such villages as Ponto, through which Neobrazilians frequently pass, the Indians generally keep at hand a piece of cloth the size of a handkerchief, which they thrust in front of their girdles when obliged to meet civilized folk to whom they consider this concession necessary. With the visitor's departure, however, the cloth is promptly removed, twisted together and tied round the forehead, the upper arm, the handle of a club, or the end of a bow.

Pụkóbye girls still go stark naked until puberty. In other tribes the majority when about six years old, though some not before the tenth year, begin to cover the hips with a piece of cloth extending approximately to the knees and knotted or turned down at the left hip (pl. 3, *b*). Among the Krahõ′ some wear only a small strip like the men's. Except at dances, Rąmkõ′kamekra women or young girls rarely appear without this garment nowadays, but when by themselves they frequently remove it. The men inveigh against this offensive but growing feminine custom of constantly wearing a loincloth. During one dance I saw the chiefs summon a man and order him to remove the loincloths of all women performers, who offered not the least resistance.

Such appurtenances of civilization as trousers, shirts, and skirts appear most frequently among the Kre'pụ′mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytiua.

At present a number of Rąmkõ′kamekra men constantly wear a leather belt with

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Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahõ' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[58] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Šerénte, all of them Gé tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[58] Memoria, § 12.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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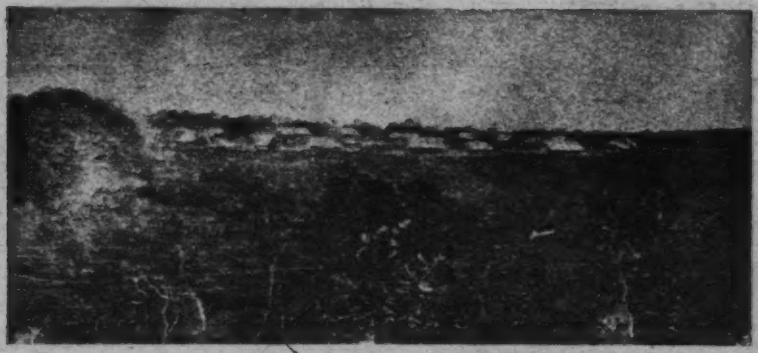

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b

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KRAHÔ VILLAGE; PONTO DWELLING; RACE TRACK

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

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a

b

CEMETERY; GRAVE

It seems to be a common feature

/45 cont./

177 of all Gẽ tribes that they generally assume a bluntly negative attitude toward the civilizing efforts of the Portuguese population and, however much inclined they are to accept the amenities offered to them by the Whites with respect to material things, nevertheless in other respects they continue to live in strictly conservative fashion with the traditional tribal usages and customs.

797 In this matter even a century long catechism has not been able to change anything essential.

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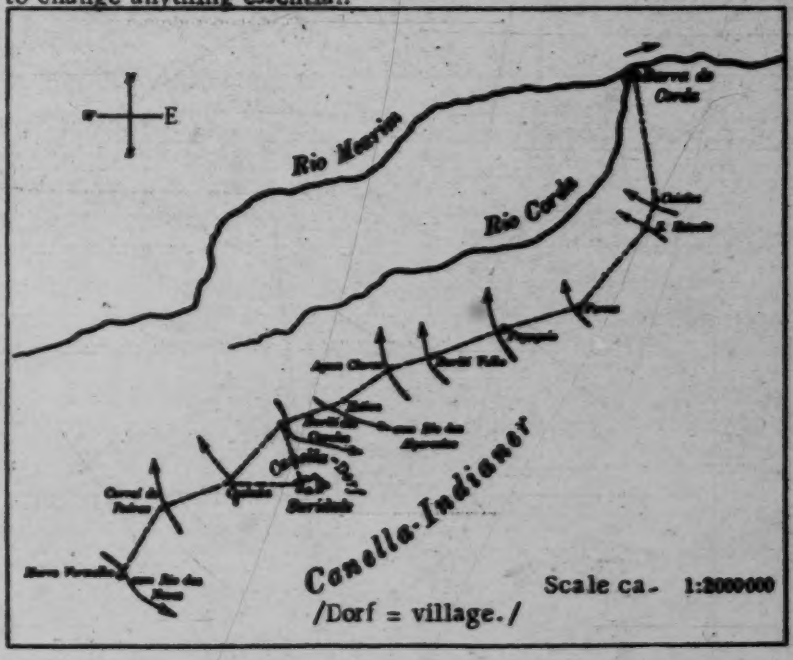

797 According to concurring mission reports, there seems to have
177 been no success at all /46/ in achieving any lasting influencing and
171 education of a Gẽ tribe in the sense of European culture.

For example, the French Dominicans on the Araguaia, according to their own statements, have been unable to exert any permanent educative influence even of only nominal value on the Kayapó /Cayapo/ during a period of almost 15 years of devoted missionary activity.

/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
619 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
301 of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
361 Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĺ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

A good hour's journey behind Buritĺ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.

/47 cont./

302 765 The Herculean-built brother-in-law of the village chief is among them. His head is /48/ shaved. According to tribal custom he had taken his head hair as an offering to the grave of his recently deceased wife (1).

[171] [101] 1. I observed the same custom among the Mẽkubengokrã Kayapo, to the west of the sierra of Conceição do Araguaia, in whose villages I stayed in 1909.

123 [203] The news of my imminent arrival had already been announced in the village. So it came about that I, with my companion, rode into Suridade accompanied by a stately procession. [361] In the village, which is built circularly -- i e., all the huts lie [622] in a circle, the radius of which is about 100 meters -- I was taken [342] immediately to the hut of the chief, Manoel José de Santo Vaqueiro, which is not distinguished from the other nine huts by any externally visible feature.

123 622 576 [648] The chief had received the rank of major from the government and obviously put /illustration appears here/ great value on the form of address due him. My first query as to whether the "chefe da aldeia" /head of the village/ were present in the house seemed not to correspond to the customary local ritual. The alteration of my question to "Aqui está a casa do 'major' Vaqueiro /Is this the house of Major Vaqueiro/?" had, however, the immediate result of a reply, "estou prompto" /this is it/, uttered rapidly several times.

And at once the ruler of the village emerged from under the low entrance, in front of which lay a large log of wood.

622 292 And how he looked! He had clad himself in his most elegant finery.

A black dinner-jacket hung loosely against white trousers on his thin figure.

On his head sat a colored double-peaked soldier's cap, which, as he recounted with a pompous air, had been bestowed upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank --